Leaflet No. 2.

Stop the Split in the I. W. W!
Let the Rank and File Decide!

(Statement by the Red International Affiliation Committee.)

THE I. W. W. faces an immediate crisis. There is no disguising the fact that a ruinous split has begun. The faction of the G. E. B. which was suspended by the Doyle-Fisher administration and ejected from headquarters by a rank and file committee has not only set up rival headquarters, but actually has gone into the capitalist courts and asked for an injunction to give it possession of the organization and control of its property and funds.

Defeat These Injunctionites!

Whatever the constitutional technicalities these injunctionites may have had to justify their previous position, this ignoring of the rank and file, this scorning of the fact that ballots were being issued for a special convention to let the rank and file decide, this turning to the courts of the capitalist class for help instead of appealing to the I. W. W. membership, all this places these injunctionites beyond the sympathy of every class conscious worker in the I. W. W. or outside it.

In this crisis the members of the I. W. W. who are Communists and adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions are gravely concerned for the unity of the I. W. W. Obviously, if the rank and file does not act, and act quickly, the split will deepen down thru the industrial unions, divide the branches and tear the I. W. W. to pieces from top to bottom. We urge that the rank and file everywhere demand a special convention, and that every shred of red tape be brushed aside and delegates representative of the entire membership be called into convention at once to give the I. W. W. a set of officers that cannot be the subject of dispute. Only in this way can the I. W. W. be saved from complete wreck and ruin.

But let no one think that the fundamental confusion of ideas, of which this controversy is but the climax, can be settled simply by the removal of some individuals from office! This is a dangerous delusion. Unless the full membership can at once express themselves in a special convention, at which the ideological questions can also be solved, the cleavage which has already begun to divide the industrial unions will tear them in two. Already the press is perishing for lack of finances withheld by puzzled or factional sources in the branches. The Communists and Red Internationalists are flatly opposed to this wrecking of the I. W. W. and call upon the rank and file to act quickly and insistently.

Mere One Symptom of Confusion.

This controversy, ruinous as it is, is only one sign of many showing the confusion of ideas so prevalent thruout the I. W. W. of recent years. If we do not recognize this fact, we will be helpless to solve the present problem of preventing a split, and utterly unable to avoid similar dangers in the future. It is time for a thoro examination of our prejudices and policies if the life and health of the I. W. W. is to be the first consideration.

Under the plausible guise of defending ourselves from persecution, a philosophy of Tolstoian non-resistance, of pacifism and despicable liberalism, all preaching a worship of ancient bourgeois abstractions like "democracy" and "free speech" has been spread like poison thru the I. W. W. propaganda. The injunctionites have now appealed for help to this capitalist "democracy" and the previous I. W. W. propaganda of legalism will now aid these splitters. But the present administration is not without fault. Doyle has continued this vicious pacifist propaganda, spreading these bourgeois ideas to workers who come to the I. W. W. seeking instruction and leadership in waging class war against the bosses. These ideas have weakened the fighting spirit of our membership, who, as workers, if they mean to be free, or even to defend themselves against extreme oppression, are compelled to wage class war on the bourgeoisie, overthrow and suppress it in both government and industry, and establish the complete supremacy—the dictatorship—of the workers, the proletariat.

This is the viewpoint of the revolutionary unionists all over the world who are affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions. It is because that they realize that, in order to attain such a goal, the proletariat must be united both nationally and internationally, they oppose every split in the ranks of any genuine union. For the same reason they oppose the traditional policy of the I. W. W., which has, incidentally, been proven a failure for itself, of splitting other unions in order to organize, or try to organize, itself. For exactly the same reason Communists and Red Internationalists sharply oppose any effort to split the I. W. W., and call upon the rank and file to take the initiative and save it from dismemberment.

"No Revolutionary Duty."

Another sign of the general confusion which has brought the I. W. W. to this brink of ruin is the circulation by some of its foremost spokesmen of the idea that the I. W. W. limits its aims to mere organization for the every-day struggle within the capitalist system and, in a far distant future, to carry on production after capitalism, by some means not explained, will have been overthrown. To set up this position is to limit ourselves in practice to purely job unionism, to ignore the fact that our membership are members also of the working class, whose historic mission it is to overthrow capitalism. In fact, this is to deny the revolutionary struggle altogether, to set our membership to thinking that they have no revolutionary duty to unite with and to support the workers of other lands in their fight for power, or even to join with other revolutionary workers of this

country to consciously plan and fight for the overthrowal of capitalism in America. Communists and Red Internationalists unalterably oppose this sidetracking of workers' revolutionary program into channels that are harmless to capitalism.

Craft, Industrial and National Patriotism.

Still another tendency closely related to the split now dividing the I. W. W. is the so-called "industrial union patriotism," which is the same breed as the craft union prejudices of conservative unions. Deluded into thinking that one union can get more by "going it alone," the confused leadership of any such union steers it straight to defeat and ultimate destruction. This stupid notion has grown up and flourished under the leadership of those I. W. W. officials, both past and present, who carried this same sectionalism to the extreme by contending that affiliation and solidarity with the revolutionary workers of other lands did not matter! They have opposed and expelled members of the I. W. W. for advocating affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. It is clear that if the I. W. W. were so affiliated it would profit from the collective wisdom and experience of revolutionary unionists of other lands. We must recognize that our membership is only about 40,000 and that we are only ridiculous in setting ourselves up as not only the labor movement of America, but of the entire world. We must have unity in the industry, unity nationally and unity internationally.

Misrepresentation.

But the Red International of Labor Unions has been grossly misrepresented to the I. W. W. rank and file. Among the injunctionites are those who have beaten up and expelled I. W. W. members whose desire for working class unity prompted them to advocate affiliation with the R. I. L. U. Even in the administration are those who last May suppressed the friendly appeal of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. to the I. W. W. membership, asking for affiliation and giving a thoro explanation of the program of the R. I. L. U. Even news of the receipt of this message to the membership was not allowed in the I. W. W. press. The Doyle-Fisher administration is seriously infringing on the needs of the membership and ordinary respect for other working class organizations by such behavior. In fact, it went further and coddled and protected these injunctionites and splitters, while repelling the friendly efforts of the Communists for unity. But when this crisis is upon the organization, the membership will see that the adherents of the Red International, the Communists in the I. W. W., will oppose disruption and fight with any sincere workers against it. But they insist that any administration should be required to cease censorship and misrepresentation of the Red International.

Some Illusions.

What are some of the illusions the I. W. W. has about the R. I. L. U.? One is that it seeks to "liquidate" the I. W. W. and leave in its place only out-of-date craft unions. This is pure falsehood. The R. I. L. U. considers industrial unions as of primary importance to the revolutionary struggle. It is opposed to a split in the I. W. W., just as it is opposed to splits in the mass trade unions.

Because the revolutionary workers were properly disgusted by the reformism and despicable parliamentarism of the old "socialist" parties, the I. W. W. naturally acquired a prejudice against all working class political parties. Altho oganically separate from the Communist International of Communist parties, the Red International does not share this syndicalist prejudice against them. It knows that the Communist parties are pursuing a really revolutionary program on the political field, which is complementary and is mutually necessary to the struggle of the revolutionary unions on the industrial field. It is the law, moreover, of the Communist International, that activity in parliaments must serve the struggle outside in the industries, that the aim is to overthrow parliaments altogether, destroy the entire bourgeois government machinery and establish control of both industry and state in the hands of workers' and farmers' councils—soviets. The illusion of the I. W. W. does not distinguish between such a Communist Party of chosen disciplined workers united to the last man on the idea of realizing this goal, and the old discredited opportunist and reformist "politics."

Dilution Must Be Met in an Organized Way.

The present crisis in the I. W. W. is evidence of the need of the Red International's program of co-operation and concerted action with the revolutionary parties of Communism. The old revolutionary I. W. W. of former years has been diluted with a large membership of workers who do not fully understand the revolutionary struggle. The whole organization has been led into confusion thereby, because, as the Rank and File Committee of Chicago states, "the rebels" have not "managed to hang together and keep up revolutionary educational work." When they do so, they necessarily organize in exactly the same manner and for exactly the same reason that the revolutionary workers in the A. F. of L. and other unions are organized in the Trade Union Educational League. The revolutionary workers in the I. W. W. who wish to keep it on a revolutionary path will find it greatly beneficial, even imperative, to organize definitely among themselves, and then formulate joint programs of action together with the revolutionary workers in other unions. Until this is done, no ejection of persons or doctoring of constitutions will permanently benefit the I. W. W.

The Rank and File Must Stop the Split.

But the halting of the split is the first necessity. Ballots for a special convention are in the field. The Red International Affiliation Committee favors a sweeping away of all red tape and rules which stand between an immediate convention and a delegation to it which will represent the whole membership. There must be no shutting out of really represntative delegates. There must be obedience to the decision of the convention. A set of officials which cannot be subject to dispute must be chosen. Nor will the duty of the rank and file be completed until they have instructed their delegates to introduce and vote for a resolution instructing the chosen officials to begin negotiations to affiliate the I. W. W. to the Red International of Labor Unions.

Let the rank and file decide!

Defeat the injunctionites who would ignore the membership and resort to the capitalist courts.

Elect revolutionary officials!

Stop the split!

We call for an immediate and full convention to solve the crisis in the I. W. W. and to affiliate it to the Red International!

For Unity and Revolution.

The Red International Affiliation Committee.

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